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# HAMMER



# & TONGS



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ations of other peoples under Communist rule. The following are brief and general summaries of the presentations made by the major speakers at the Conference.

Emanuel Scherer, Secretary of the International Jewish Labor Bund, discussed the implications of the fact that Russia was now economically and culturally one of the advanced nations of the world, and that the needs of the society are no longer compatible with the sort of crude dictatorship that existed in Stalin's day. He suggested that perhaps the economic and social basis now existed for the eventual development of the Soviet Union in the direction of a genuine democratic socialism, although he did not regard this as likely to occur in the very near future and said that it would require a political struggle to democratize the government.

Professor Richard Lowenthal of the Free University of Berlin analyzed the tensions existing in the Soviet Union between the technicians and the party bureaucracy, and stressed the continued key role of the latter in spite of the liberalization of recent years. Like the other speakers, he thought that further liberalization was probable under the pressure of economic and social conditions, and that this might eventually lead to genuine democratization. But he felt that this was still in the distant future. In answer to a question, he said that the Yugoslav example showed how far liberalization and economic experimentation could go without disturbing the basic mechanism of the dictatorship, which could always be called into play when criticism went beyond permissible limits.

All the speakers also discussed the development of polycentric Communism, both in relation to the Communist states and to the Communist parties in the non-Communist world. Professor Lowenthal suggested that we had to some extent been taken in by Soviet propaganda in picturing the Chinese as reckless adventurers in contrast to the sober and responsible leaders of the USSR. The real difference, he held, was that the Soviet Union had achieved its basic goals while China had not, and hence the latter still maintained a revolutionary posture - which did not preclude a very cautious practical approach. Dr. Scherer said that the changes in Western Communist parties, such as those of France and Italy, posed new problems for the Socialists of those countries in regard to their attitude toward inter-party cooperation. Professor Lowenthal thought that in the case of France, this problem was not likely to become acute because of covert Communist support for DeGaulle as a result of his anti-American line in international affairs. In Italy, he said that the Communist Party had, under Socialist pressure, been forced increasingly to repudiate basic Communist tenets on the role of the party and the nature of the state; he felt that the proper attitude for Socialists in such circumstances was to demand such changes as a prerequisite for cooperation.

The Saturday afternoon session, chaired by Tom Kahn, Executive Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, was scheduled to deal with socialism - and the movements which lay claim to a socialist position - in the developing world.

































socially.

A majority of Americans are for the abolition of poverty. The civil rights movement understood this point dramatically in August, 1963, when it marched for jobs and freedom. The trade union movement must more and more understand this point if automation is not to continue its present career as, in the words of George Meany, a curse rather than a blessing. The migrants and the poor farmers and farm hands, denied the generous subsidies of the agricultural rich of the Farm Bureau, desperately need to participate in the rewards of the most productive farm lands in the world. And millions of middle class people, motivated by reasons of ethics or religion, members of radical and liberal movements, also seek an end to our national indignity.

Thus far, the forces for poverty have been more cohesive and decisive than those against. Every progressive social proposal made in this nation since 1938 has been thwarted or distorted.

In the strategy of the war against poverty, the anti-poverty forces must create a serious political movement, capable of enacting laws as well as proposing platforms. We socialists differ among ourselves as to how this development will take place, whether through a realignment of the existing parties or the emergence of a mass third party, but we are all committed to the proposition that the war against poverty cannot be conducted by politics as usual. However it will in fact appear, there must be a new political majority in this country--the expression of the real, the numerical and social majority.

As we have made plain, we believe that real success in this struggle leads beyond the limits of the profit economy. As the same time, we support reforms of the present system, because of the conviction that whatever can be done here and now to alleviate human misery must be done, and because we believe that the consciousness of the necessity of more basic transformation will not come out of the blue but in the process of fighting for immediate gains.

Therefore Socialists join with the most militant and advanced sections of the reform forces to battle in the present to push the limits of the possible as far as they will go.

Some of the most important demands in 1964 are:

Full employment. There can be no effective beginning of a war against poverty so long as chronic, high unemployment persists. Under such conditions, even the minimal and most modest proposals for job training in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will fail--because one cannot train a man for a non-existent job.

Toward the aim of full employment, we support:

- ....the AFL-CIO call for an immediate passage of a \$2 billion appropriation for accelerated public works, as an urgent first step toward a massive public works program;
- ....the majority proposal of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower for an additional added expenditure of \$5 billion a year on socially useful projects;
- ....the building of 2.3 million new dwelling units per year for the next ten years, with the deficiency of privately built housing to be made up by a massive public low cost housing program;
- ....an increase in the Federal minimum wage to \$2 an hour;
- ....compulsory registration of job vacancies with a revamped and effective United States Employment Service;
- ....the establishment of Federal minimums for State unemployment compensation;
- ....the establishment of unemployment benefits to cover the entire period of unemployment;
- ....decreases in the working day, increases in vacation time and the expansion of the sabbatical principle;
- ....the vesting of pension and other fringe benefit rights for workers;

....the "older worker's program" providing adequate income for human beings rendered economically "obsolete" long before they qualify for Social Security.

Depressed Areas. The depressed area legislation passed in the first years of the Kennedy Administration shows the price exacted by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition: the refusal of funds to many industrial areas; their concentration in the South, often under the control of a white racist power structure; the denial of rational planning procedures.

We support:

- ....the Appalachian Bill, as the beginning of a beginning of a commitment to that region;
  - ....the principle of regional authorities in depressed areas planning;
  - ....a crash program for education in rural depressed areas;
  - ....Federal grants to depressed area community action programs, with the proviso that all groups in a community, and particularly minorities, have a right to participate in the direction of the program;
  - ....the creation of TVA type Authorities in the war against poverty in Appalachia, in the Ozarks, and in the Columbia and Missouri River Valleys.
- Agriculture. The scandal of poverty in the richest fields in history is well known. In recent years, agricultural productivity and misery have been the simultaneous wonder of the nation. We therefore propose:
- ....the extension of minimum wage and collective bargaining rights to migrants and farm workers;
  - ....the expansion of the Migrant Health Act to cover hospital care and medicine;
  - ....the planned abolition of the entire pattern of migrant labor through technological progress and the more efficient use of local labor markets;
  - ....the loan and grant program for poor farmers under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964;
  - ....the planned encouragement of cooperative farming as against corporation farming;
  - ....the planned development of a leisure or tourist industry in the rural depressed areas where this is possible.

Planning. We are, as noted before, committed to Socialist planning, with all of its implications of the democratization of the economy. But, short of such a basic transformation, many advantages from planning can be obtained within the context of reforming, but not fundamentally changing, the present system. As immediate steps we favor:

- ....the implementation of the Employment Act of 1946 through the presentation each year by the president of a national full employment budget, making up any deficiencies of job creation in the private sector through public action;
- ....the expansion of the role of the Council of Economic Advisors, which should be charged with projecting growth trends on a long term basis and putting forth legislative remedies for deficiencies in the private and public sector;
- ....the immediate initiation, under the Department of Labor, of a long range manpower study, so as to provide a rational basis for calculation on the part of educators and other planners;
- ....social planning for ways in which to achieve social and racial integration in housing and to transcend the present policy of segregating low-cost housing both by income and by minority status.

Education. The technological society now coming into existence requires higher and higher levels of skill and training. Yet, of the 26 million young Americans entering the economy during the decade of the '60's, 7.6 million will not finish high school and 2.3 million will lack even a grade school education. In this economy, such a situation is education for poverty.

Therefore we support:

- ....the principle of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower that this society commit itself to fourteen years of universal, free public education;
- ....the recognition that going to school is the most productive activity for Americans between the ages of 16 and 21 and should therefore be compensated as work through a "G.I. Bill" for all American youth without reference to















